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# POPULI

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## Pakistan: What future?
## Security: New Compulsions
## Birth: Risky Business

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# POPULI

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Pakistan

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Security is no longer a matter of defending territory, but promoting human progress: not just security through weapons, but security through jobs, a decent standard of living, and environmental sustainability. Yet, less than seven per cent of bilateral aid goes to human priorities such as education, primary health care, and family planning services. It's time for change, says academic, author, and politician **Mahbub ul Haq**.

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READEX
FICHE

### Men, Women, & Recession

Who does worse in recessions, men or women? On average, nine times as many men in the United States lose their jobs in downturns as do women, according to US Bureau of Labor Statistics research reported in the *Left Business Observer* of New York. The main reason: men are disproportionately employed in manufacturing, where the number of jobs rises and falls with the business cycle, while women work mainly in services, where employment has been more stable. Until the recent recession, that is, when services suffered an unprecedented fall. While 19.2 times as many men as women lost their jobs in the 1981-82 recession, 9.6 times as many did in 1990-91. In the 1973-75 slump, however, women gained 396,000 jobs while men lost 1.8 million. These net figures hide sharp losses in manufacturing for women that were offset by bigger gains in the service sector.

Lest men feel cheated, the *Left Business Observer* adds, they should remember: women are paid less, both on average and within the same occupational and educational classes; women are more likely to be poor; they are more likely than men to work irregularly, insecurely, and without benefits; women work many more hours in the paid workforce than 20 years ago, without much help on the home front; and in a slump, women are often pressed into more intensive household work in order to save on household spending.

### Donor Fatigue

The concept of "donor fatigue" brought on by economic recession at home and an abundance of competing crises abroad has gained currency in aid circles. Aid officials sometimes say neglect by the media is a reason for donor apathy. Gary Willis of Britain's Disasters Emergency Committee offers a different perspective. He saw the results of DEC's annual fundraising campaign for African countries dwindle from UK£ 17.25 million last year to UK£ 400,000. He, too, blames the media. The problem is not so much that there has been no reporting of Africa, but that it is the wrong kind, he told the Inter Press Service. "The coverage of Somalia reflects the on-going difficulties with peace-keeping in Mogadishu, which is detracting attention from the needs of the civilian population" in Somalia and in other parts of Africa.

"Television will always, by definition, report the unusual," says Paddy Coulter of the International Broadcasting Trust. "The news is dominated by hard conflict." But not all hard conflicts get covered. "Angola is the world's forgotten war," an official from the non-governmental Action Aid told IPS. "It is much worse than Bosnia, but most people in Britain don't know there is a war going on there."

### Women, unite!

A "patriarchal renaissance" has sprung from the collapse of the Soviet order to engulf Russian women in dramatically deteriorated conditions, the Cox News Service reports from Moscow. In response, a new women's political party has emerged, and is striving to get the 100,000 signatures needed to secure a place on next month's parliamentary ballot. "We realize [the existing] parties do not understand women's problems," says Alevtina Fedulova, a Women of Russia party candidate for parliament. "At the same time, we are ready to share responsibility for the fate of this country." Behind this mobilization is a mix of bad news: at least seven in 10 unemployed workers are women; women's representation in official positions has fallen to 5.6 per cent, from 30-40 per cent in Soviet times; and women's pay has fallen from 70 per cent of what men earned under the Soviets, to less than 40 per cent now. "All of us live worse than we used to," says Fedulova. "But for women it is much worse." The Women of Russia party was formed after a coalition of women's groups sent a questionnaire on women's issues to 27 political parties. Three bothered to respond.

### No Problem?

The government of Saint Lucia is battling the view that the Caribbean island country is underpopulated and therefore has no population problem. This view is common among those who think population programming is simply a matter of family planning, and that family planning is simply a matter of contraception, according to a planning ministry statement. "Population programming, however, deals with the interrelations between population and the social and economic sectors...sustainable development, gender equality, mortality, migration, and urbanization," the ministry says. "The ultimate objectives of these endeavours are enhancement and improvement of the conditions and quality of life for all." Although birth rates have been falling in recent years, more than 40 per cent of births are unintended. More than 90 per cent of women aged 15-44 want either to space or limit their births, but only 55 per cent are practising some form of contraception. Unemployment, pegged at 17 per cent last year, is high. Internal migrants are flocking to urban areas, and AIDS is spreading "among key sectors of the population. It is becoming more and more difficult to meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the needs of future generations."

### Highway to Hell

Cars wreak havoc on the environment even before reaching the showroom, according to research by the German *Umwelt und Prognose Institut* reported in the *Guardian* of London. The manufacture of each car made in Germany, where environmental and manufacturing standards are among the strictest in the world, generates 25,000 kilos of waste and 422 million cubic metres of air pollution. During a 10-year life, each car spews out 44.3 tonnes of carbon dioxide and 18,400 grammes of tire, road, and brake "abrasion products." From birth to death, a car pol-

lutes 2.04 billion cubic metres of air, emits 59.7 tonnes of carbon dioxide, and creates 26.5 tonnes of solid waste. Seen another way, each car kills three trees and sickens 10; one car in seven injures someone, one in a hundred handicaps someone, and one in 450 kills someone. One person in a hundred dies in a road accident; two out of three are hurt. Counting roads, garages, and parking lots, cars consume about 60 per cent more of the German landscape than does housing.

In its lifetime, the average car's cost to the public—in pollution, other physical damage, injury, and noise—exceeds vehicle and fuel taxes by some 6,000 DM (about US$3,750) per year. This is the equivalent of a year's free pass on public transportation, a new bicycle every five years, and 15,000 kilometres of first-class rail travel.

"The car is thus revealed as an environmental, fiscal, and social disaster that would not pass any value-for-money test," writer John Whitelegg concludes in the *Guardian*.

# ICPD Update

**The latest on the lead-up to the International Conference on Population and Development, 5-13 September 1994, Cairo, Egypt.**

## NGO Forum

The NGO (non-governmental organization) Forum at Cairo will be held in an indoor sports stadium a 10-minute walk from the site of the official intergovernmental conference, according to NGO Planning Committee Chair Billie Miller. The Forum will open on 4 September, one day before the official sessions begin, and will run concurrently with the conference. Registration will start on 2 September.

## Accreditation Deadline

NGOs wishing to gain access to the official intergovernmental sessions of ICPD must apply for accreditation by 1 January 1994, according to the Conference Secretariat. Queries regarding accreditation should be addressed to: ICPD Secretariat, c/o UNFPA, 220 East 42nd Street, 22nd floor, New York, NY 10017, USA. Fax: (212) 297-4915.

## Upcoming Events

- Through mid-December, UN Headquarters, New York: Forty-eighth regular session of the UN General Assembly; discussion of ICPD on the agenda.
- 9-13 November, Denpasar, Indonesia: Ministerial Meeting on Population of the Non-Aligned Countries.
- 17-19 November, Bangkok, Thailand: Round-table meeting on Population and Development.
- 24-26 November, Geneva, Switzerland: Round-table meeting on Population, Environment, and Sustainable Development.
- 2-3 December, Vienna, Austria: Round-table meeting on Population and Communication.
- 26-28 January 1994, Tokyo, Japan: Meeting of Eminent Persons in Population and Development.
- 4-22 April 1994, UN Headquarters, New York: Third meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on Population and Development 1994.
- 3-4 September 1994, Cairo, Egypt: Pre-Conference consultations.

# Risky business

Decades after maternal and child health programmes were launched, a study of 28 developing countries finds the incidence of high-risk births ranging from 45 per cent in Thailand to 72 per cent in Mali and Sudan.

"Nearly no improvements in antenatal and delivery care service coverage have been made over a five-year time span" in the mid- to late-1980s, according to the Demographic Health Survey (DHS) study. "Out of 28 countries, only modest improvements in maternity care coverage were found in Egypt and Thailand. In some countries, fewer than one-half of births receive pre-natal care and fewer than one-third of births are covered by trained medical delivery care."

When is a birth high-risk? When one or more of the following conditions apply, according to DHS: the mother is younger than 18 or older than 34; the woman has already had three or more live births; and the birth occurs within 24 months of a previous live birth.

"Births to mothers with multiple risks carry especially high rates of mortality," according to the report. "The offspring of mothers with a risk combination such as young age and short between-birth interval are more than twice as likely to die. Nearly three times as many infant and child deaths are found with the maternal risk combination of older age, short birth interval, and high parity," when a woman has had a large number of previous live births. Overall, the study found that two or more risk factors were present in 15-32 per cent of births.

Rare attention.

Antenatal care allows health workers to identify and monitor women in risk categories, according to DHS. Without antenatal care, a woman is unlikely to benefit from measures to prevent high-risk births, such as tetanus toxoid injections, nutrition education, and counselling on postpartum family planning. In the mid- and late-1980s, the proportion of births for which women received antenatal care ranged from over 90 per cent in Botswana, the Dominican Republic, Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago, and Zimbabwe, to less than 50 per cent in Bolivia, Guatemala, Mali, and Morocco. Delivery care coverage ranged from more than 85 per cent in the Dominican Republic, Sri Lanka, and Trinidad and Tobago, to less than 33 per cent in Burundi, Guatemala, Mali, and Morocco. In general, service coverage was lower for women in rural areas and women with no formal education.

The World Health Organization recommends women receive two tetanus toxoid injections during their first pregnancy, a third dose six to 12 months later or during the next pregnancy, a fourth dose at least a year later or during the subsequent pregnancy, and a fifth dose at least a year later or during the next pregnancy. The fifth dose is thought to provide life-long protection against tetanus infection. According to the DHS data, however, "many women who saw a doctor, nurse, or midwife during pregnancy reported that they did not receive a tetanus toxoid injection." The proportion of births for which women recalled receiving at least one injection ranged from over 85 per cent in Botswana, the Dominican Republic, Kenya, and Sri Lanka, to less than 20 per cent in Egypt, Guatemala, Mali, and Peru.

"Family planning services can prevent many unwanted and high-risk pregnancies. Together with safe abortion care, family planning also helps avoid abortion-related maternal deaths due to complications of sepsis and haemorrhage, a major contributor to maternal mortality in the developing world," the report states. "When the need to reduce the risk of maternal and childhood mortality is taken into account, the estimated demand for contraception is 25 per cent higher than" suggested by estimates of contraceptive demand based only on the number of children women would prefer to have.

For more information on the report, *High-Risk Births and Maternity Care*, contact: Macro International, DHS Division,

8850 Stanford Boulevard, Suite 4000, Columbia, MD 21045, USA. After 29 November: 11785 Beltsville Drive, Suite #300, Calverton, MD 20705-3119, USA.

# Scientists urge action

Representatives of 57 academies of science are urging the international community to "help achieve zero population growth within the lifetime of our children," in the words of a joint statement issued last month at an unprecedented scientific summit on population growth, resource consumption, development, and the environment.

The statement's endorsers inlcude 26 academies from the developing world—among them, the Third World Academy of Sciences, the Federation of Asian Scientific Academies and Societies, and the Caribbean Academy of Sciences—and academies from the new republics of the former Soviet Union.

Not all academies represented at the 24-27 October summit in New Delhi, India endorsed the joint statement, however. The African Academy of Sciences, one of the summit's organizers, did not sign on. While agreeing with many of the recommendations laid out in the statement, the Academy's representatives said the goal of zero population growth is not appropriate for all African countries. National academies from Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and Uganda endorsed the summit statement.

According to officials at the US National Academy of Sciences, the Japanese academy declined to sign on the grounds of insufficient expertise in population; the Pontifical and Irish academies had "ideological differences"; and the Singaporean academy could not get the necessary unanimity among its members.

"The world is in the midst of an unprecedented expansion of human numbers," according to the statement. It warns that population growth could strain much of Earth's natural resource base to near-breaking point, and calls on governments to:

- devise strategies to reduce and eliminate inequality between women and men, so that women are able to take control of their own fertility;
- provide convenient family planning and other reproductive health services with a wide variety of safe contraceptive options, "irrespective of an individual's ability to pay";
- encourage voluntary approaches to family planning;
- develop policies that address basic needs such as clean water, sanitation, primary health care, and education; and
- establish policies that recognize longer-term environmental responsibilities and discourage waste.

"Scientists today have the opportunity and responsibility to mount a concerted effort to confront our human predicament," according to the statement. "But science and technology can only provide tools and blueprints for action and social change. It is the governments and international decision makers, including those meeting in Cairo next September at the...International Conference on Population and Development, who hold the key to the future."

Looking ahead, UNFPA Executive Director Nafis Sadik said: "Using a 20-year time-frame, we propose goals for social development including lower infant mortality and maternal mortality, universal primary education and some secondary education, and guaranteed access to the full range of family planning services. Tying together this package, and ensuring that its contents will produce the desired effect, will be women, as policy-makers as much as beneficiaries."

The New Delhi summit was organized by the African, Asian, Australian, Brazilian, British, Chinese, Dutch, Hungarian, Indian, Mexican, Pakistani, Russian, Swedish, Third World, and US academies of science. It followed a meeting between the US National Academy of Sciences and the Royal Society of London and an international conference organized by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences.

## Brundtland:

# "Intractable crisis"

"Unless we accept that the population explosion is the most serious, predictable, and intractable crisis facing us, we shall not be able to avoid it," according to Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland.

Brundtland delivered her warning at the United Nations on 28 September, in the fifth Rafael M. Salas Memorial Lecture.

"Support for population policies must be viewed within the wider context of global burden-sharing," she said. "Bills for peace-keeping, bills for peace-building, for averting environmental threats, alleviating poverty and famine and curbing the population explosion must be equitably shared, because we all depend on success in every one of these fields."

Noting that states have a "shared but unequal responsibility" for dealing with population issues, the Norwegian leader emphasized three areas demanding our attention: changing production and consumption patterns in the industrialized

UNFPA/Ephrem Cruz

*Brundtland speaking at the UN.*

world; alleviating poverty, meeting basic human needs, and protecting the environment in the developing world; and slowing population growth to help achieve sustainable development.

"Changing consumption is far from easy, but we should begin by recognizing that lowering consumption of natural resources does not mean lowering the standard of living," she said. "There are enormous economic advantages to be gained from reducing consumption of scarce resources, but there is little reason to reduce consumption of resources that are renewable and abundant."

As for alleviating poverty, she said: "Structural adjustment programmes and external debt are among the factors which should no longer prevent countries from increasing their health budgets. There is a case for an international dialogue and solidarity to cushion the negative impact of these external factors. But why is it different with military budgets which are still senselessly high in a number of countries? [Former US] President Eisenhower has been much quoted for saying that 'every gun that is fired, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who are not fed.' Today, any country which maintains military budgets above a certain level is literally uncreditworthy. The future lies not in arming but in educating a healthy population."

On the need to slow population growth, she said that "although the global problems seem daunting," there are signs of hope. "At a global level, there has been a drop in fertility and birth rates," so that "the average number of children born to every fertile woman during her lifetime has fallen from almost five a generation ago, to just over three now, and in developing countries the drop has been steeper." She argued that "traditional religious and cultural obstacles can be overcome by economic and social development, with the focus on enhancement of human resources." She cited predominantly Buddhist Thailand, predominantly Muslim Indonesia, and predominantly Catholic Italy as proof that "relatively sharp reductions in fertility can be achieved in an amazingly short time."

The success of family planning programmes, like the success of development, hinges on the empowerment of women, she said. Noting that "women are at a disadvantage compared to men in all countries," she added: "If men do not take responsibility for their sexual habits, fertility, and health, if they reject their responsibility as fathers, it will be impossible to cope not only with population growth, but also with sexually transmitted diseases [and] AIDS."

"The 1990s will decide whether the choices for our children will narrow yet further or open up," she said. "We know more about population, environment, and development than ever before. We have the basis for action. Now we must mobilize people in every country and in every walk of life, not least the political leaders and the mass media."

Brundtland first became prime minister in 1981. She was Norway's first woman head of government and, at 41, the youngest. She formed her third government in November 1990. She served on the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security which in 1982 published its report, *Common Security*, and chaired the World Commission on Environment and Development, commonly known as the Brundtland Commission, which published its report, *Our Common Future*, in 1987. Born in Oslo in 1939, she is the mother of four and a grandmother of five.

The Salas Lecture is named after UNFPA's first executive director. Previous speakers include former Japanese Foreign Minister Saburo Okita (1989, since deceased); the Duke of Edinburgh (1990); Robert McNamara, former World Bank president and United States defence secretary (1991); and famed oceanographer Jacques-Yves Cousteau (1992).

## Tanzania

# Talking to teens

Alarmed by persistently high population growth and the spread of AIDS, the Tanzanian family planning association, UMATI, is turning its attention to educating the country's youth about contraception.

"We will deliberately assign ourselves the task of expanding the programme on youth family planning information, education, and services," says UMATI

Executive Secretary Christian Nsekela.

Counselling on responsible parenthood is the mainstay of UMATI's campaign, which began this summer in the northern province of Arusha.

"Through the programme, the youths will be given the necessary information on reproductive health by their peers, who will have been trained" by UMATI, says Nsekela.

Teenagers constitute more than 30 per cent of the population, and are at increasing risk of infection with sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). "If not properly guided, they will all be victims of parenthood at an early age, STDs, and HIV/AIDS," says Nsekela.

About one in every 30 Tanzanians is believed to be infected with HIV, with one-eighth of that number having developed AIDS, according to the World Bank. By 2010, as many as one in six Tanzanians could be infected with HIV if more is not done to prevent its spread.

Tanzania's population is projected to double from its present 27.8 million by 2010, according to the Washington-based Population Reference Bureau.

Population growth is estimated by the United Nations at about 3.4 per cent per year, outracing economic growth. Real gross national product is thought to have increased by only 2 per cent over the last decade.

Only about 10 per cent of Tanzanian couples use modern contraceptives, according to preliminary results of the Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey recently carried out by the Official Bureau of Statistics.

UMATI's campaign signals impatience with the pace at which government has been pursuing plans to introduce family life education (FLE) in the country's schools. Education ministry officials say about a dozen primary and secondary schools have been selected to start offering FLE, with a nationwide programme scheduled for take-off next year. They acknowledge the process has been slow and that FLE is long overdue.

–Paul Chintowa/IPS

# Abortion restrictions deemed lawless

The Canadian Supreme Court has struck down a provincial law banning abortions from being performed outside hospitals. The unanimous ruling, handed down on 30 September, overturned Nova Scotia's Medical Services Act of 1989 and was greeted by abortion rights groups as upholding a woman's right to obtain an abortion free from undue government interference.

Canada has been without a federal abortion law since 1988, when the Court ruled that a federal law requiring a woman to obtain approval for an abortion from a three-member abortion committee in an approved hospital violated the right to security of person contained in the country's Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

In 1989, the Conservative government of former Nova Scotia premier John Buchanan introduced the Medical Services Act, arguing that its ban on abortions outside provincial hospitals was designed to protect women's health and safety and prevent the emergence of a two-tier health system in which the wealthy would have access to private abortion services.

"There is nothing on the surface of the legislation to convince me it is designed to ensure the delivery of high-quality health care," Justice John Sopinka wrote in the Court's 63-page decision. "Any such objectives are clearly incidental to the central feature of the legislation, which is the prohibition of abortions outside hospitals as socially undesirable conduct subject to punishment." As such, the legislation was not primarily concerned with matters of health care—which falls under provincial jurisdiction—but criminal law, an exclusive federal power.

According to Sopinka, "one of the effects of the legislation is consolidation of abortions in the hands of the provincial government, largely in one provincially controlled institution. This renders free access to abortion vulnerable to administrative erosion."

As with other recent abortion controversies, the case involved Henry Morgentaler, who was charged with performing 14 abortions in his private clinic soon after the law was passed. Dr. Morgentaler was acquitted by a trial judge in 1990. The acquittal was upheld a year later by the Nova Scotia Court of Appeal. The provincial government appealed to the Supreme Court. Last month, Morgentaler told the local press he had expected the Court to vindicate his argument that the law "was so obviously directed against a woman's right to an abortion that it was clear it wasn't an honest law."

Nova Scotia's new Liberal health minister, Ron Stewart, told the press the province planned no further abortion legislation and would comply with the Court's ruling that it cover the cost of abortions provided outside hospitals.

The ruling appears to clear the way for Morgentaler to open a clinic in New Brunswick province, over the objections of the provincial government. He is now challenging the legality of the Manitoba provincial government's refusal to pay for abortions performed at his clinic in that province, and he says he is about to challenge authorities on Prince Edward Island over their refusal to cover the costs of women forced to leave the island for abortions in Nova Scotia.

–Reed Boland

# Pakistani Prospects

by Abid Aslam

Pakistan's family planning programme has been on a political see-saw since it began more than three decades ago, its fortunes rising and falling with changes in government and legislation.

In 1991, the programme seemed to be riding high. The government of Nawaz Sharif embarked on what it termed "renewed emphasis": a bid to accomplish goals set but ignored during the country's seventh five-year development plan, in the ten months remaining before the plan expired.

Last year, the programme came down again. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), announced it would cease operations in Pakistan under the Pressler Amendment, a 1985 law prohibiting US assistance to countries that do not sign the UN nuclear non-proliferation treaty. USAID provided as much as half of all external assistance to the national family planning programme, according to programme documents. The agency completed its withdrawal in June this year. Other supporters are trying to make up for the shortfall. UNFPA has extended "bridging" funds for some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) while they seek alternative sources of support. But funding remains lower than before. Condoms have had to be rationed.

Last month, Sharif lost his position in national elections. Caretaker Prime Minister Moeen Qureishi, who oversaw the elections and committed the country to a long-term structural adjustment package assembled by the International Monetary Fund, made public statements in support of family planning and other social and economic programmes. But the new government, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's second, is a tentative coalition which includes opponents of family planning. The political future of family planning in Pakistan remains in the balance.

Programme documents show that the programme suffered significant setbacks even when the political see-saw tilted in its favour, however.

## High-risk births

Family planning became part of official Pakistani development planning in 1955, although national programme activities did not begin until 1960, according to the latest UNFPA Programme Review and Strategy Development (PRSD) report. The total fertility rate, estimated at around six children per woman, has not decreased appreciably since the late 1960s.

Preliminary findings from the 1990/91 Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) "support the conclusion that [the programme] has been less effective in convincing large numbers of people to use family planning than in raising awareness of its existence," according to an advance copy of the PRSD report. More than three-fourths of all women know of at least one modern contraceptive, according to the DHS findings. Some 54 per cent of married women say either that they want no more children or that they would like to have another child only after two or more years. But only 45 per cent could name a source from which to obtain family planning services. About 12 per cent of married women use contraception; as few as five per cent use methods other than withdrawal and periodic abstinence.

***Family planning has been on a political see-saw since its introduction.***

By contrast, contraceptive prevalence rates are 42 per cent in neighbouring India and 26 per cent in Bangladesh, according to programme documents.

Although contraceptive use is still uncommon, fertility has begun to fall, mainly because people are getting married later in their lives, according to the DHS findings. On average, women get married for the first time at the age of 22, when in 1961 the average age was 16. Nevertheless, at current growth rates, Pakistan's population is set to double to some 230 million in 22 years, according to government and UN projections. By contrast, the doubling time for South Asia is estimated at 30 years; for Asia as a whole, 39 years.

Some 85 per cent of births take place at home, according to DHS. Only one birth in five is attended by a doctor or a nurse, and

*Abid Aslam edits POPULI.*

*Seats of authority ...*

more than two-thirds of women receive no antenatal care. More than four in ten births are considered "high-risk": Birth intervals are too short; mothers are too young or too old, and are having too many babies. According to a National Institute of Population Studies report: "If these high-risk births could be eliminated through proper timing and spacing of births, the infant mortality rate could be reduced by 20-25 per cent. This would save 110,000 infant lives per year, or about 300 babies each day."

## Significant flaws

The Pakistan programme has suffered significant flaws even when official support was at its height, according to the PRSD report.

The period of "renewed emphasis," for example, was marked by projects that were "in varying degrees, overambitious, unfocused, and insufficiently based on research," the PRSD report states. This may have been because of programmers' desire to "make up for lost time," the report states, citing "evidence of hard work and [a] desire to accomplish much in a short time." Much of this work has followed "a top-down approach" at the expense of community dialogue, however, and "there is currently a lack of co-ordination" at the federal and provincial levels.

The Sharif government's plans included setting up 130 "mobile service units"—clinics in buses—to reach villages not served by health centres. By the end of 1991, only six buses were running, according to the report. Meanwhile, "many reproductive health outlets are performing below their capacity, probably due to the distances most clients have to travel to reach a centre," it states.

Family welfare centres (FWCs) form the backbone of the Ministry of Population Welfare's service delivery network. Although these centres "provide a good service," the report states, "only eight per cent of women [using contraceptives] obtain family planning services from an FWC, whereas 80 per cent utilize hospitals and pharmacies....In a number of instances, FWCs are located close to a Basic Health Unit and thus...duplicate some services unnecessarily."

The number of NGOs offering family planning information and services has increased from nine in 1985 to 121. But their work is seriously impeded by "administrative problems such as delays in receiving fund approvals and technical approvals for projects" through the government's NGO Co-ordinating Council. The latest withdrawal of USAID funds could hit NGOs especially hard. When the agency withdrew funding in the 1970s, Pakistani NGOs took six to seven years to recover, according to Ahmed Al-Kabir of the Association for Voluntary Surgical Contraception.

Before USAID withdrew, the programme had other problems. The report points out that most spending on facilities,

UNFPA/Lily Solomon

*queue of responsibility*

contraceptive supplies, research, and training at federal and provincial levels is tied to projects that must be approved yearly, and that the Ministry of Health has no recurrent or development budget allocations for family planning.

## The shackled half

Khawar Mumtaz, co-ordinator of the women's resource centre *Shirkat Gah* (which means "place of participation"), says Pakistani men expect their women to shoulder the responsibility for family planning, but balk at giving them the authority to limit their fertility. With other women leaders in the growing NGO movement, she welcomed the political see-saw's pro-family planning tilt in 1991. But she was cautious about the likelihood of government making good on its promises to improve women's status in Pakistani society.

This caution was born of repeated disappointments such as the story of the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women. The Commission was established in 1983, the year the government proclaimed that "no society can ever develop half-liberated and half-shackled." Two years later, the Commission reported on the status of women in a country where boys' schools outnumbered girls' two-to-one; where only 18 in every 100 women were literate; and where, in the countryside, one in three girls aged 14-19 was married at the time of the 1981 census. The report was withheld from the public until 1989 when, after two changes in government, the Ministry of Women's Development was established and the report was unveiled to intense public debate.

Since then, the PRSD report states, "the lack of priority given to WID [women in development] in the overall national development framework (similar to the national population programme) has remained almost constant; the financial allocation for WID rose marginally from 0.2 per cent to 0.3 per cent of the Federal Public Sector Development Programme." There is no women's section in the federal planning commission or at the Ministry of Planning and Development, nor are there women's sections in the relevant federal ministries or provincial departments.

For that matter, "a job quota of 10-15 per cent for women in the public sector established during the sixth plan period was neither enforced nor promoted through support structures, such as day-care centres or crèches," the report states.

As for the Commission on the Status of Women, it "has not been formally reactivated since it presented its report in 1985," according to the report. And the women's ministry "is unable to perform the...watchdog functions which an independent commission can be mandated to carry out."

HUMAN SECURITY

# New compulsions

by Mahbub ul Haq

We need to fashion a new security—call it human security—that is reflected in the lives of our people, not in the weapons of our countries.

Security is no longer just security of territory, but security of people; not just security through arms, but security through jobs, a decent standard of living, and environmental sustainability; not just safeguards against an unpredictable nuclear holocaust, but a thoughtful response to the effects of poverty that transcend international frontiers: drugs, AIDS, illegal migration, and terrorism, to name a few.

We cannot meet the new threats to human security with the ideas and weapons of yesterday. Ultimately, human security is a child that did not die, a disease that did not spread, a woman who was not raped, an ethnic conflict that did not explode into violence, a poor person who did not starve, a dissident who was not silenced, a human spirit that was not crushed. Human security is not a concern with weapons; it is a concern with human dignity.

**Twenty-two million people have died in more than 120 conflicts during the so-called "peaceful transition" since World War II.**

How can we build up this new structure of human security? We can start with four conceptual building-blocks.

First, the cold war is not over; the job is only half done. We have phased out the cold war in East-West relations, but we have forgotten to phase it out in the developing world.

Isn't it time we asked the leaders of the poor countries why they insist on spending two to three times as much on arms as on the education and health of their people; why they have eight times more soldiers than doctors; how they can find the resources for air-conditioned jeeps for their military generals when they lack even windowless school rooms for their children; and why they pride themselves on having fighter jets when starving people are sleeping on their pavements?

And isn't it time we asked the leaders of rich nations to stop the continuing arithmetic of death and destruction in the developing world, where 22 million people have died in more than 120 conflicts during the so-called "peaceful transition" since World War II? Should they not set a concrete timetable in which to close down all existing military bases; convert all military aid into economic aid; stop the arms shipments, currently valued at more than US$35 billion a year, that bring them huge profits from poor nations that cannot even feed their people; and eliminate subsidies to arms exporters and retrain their workers for jobs in civilian industries?

Our next challenge is to curtail the huge arms spending of US$150 billion a year in the poor nations and to invest this money in the welfare of their people.

Second, let us not give up on the peace dividend. Global military spending has begun to decline for the first time in our lifetime. Over the last six years, it has fallen by a cumulative US$250 billion. But where is this peace dividend? Why is it not available for the neglected social agenda held over from the days when societies were stockpiling arms and their people were praying for the arms race to stop?

The rich nations are preoccupied with balancing their budgets. But would it take a new genius to discover how to balance the financial budgets without unbalancing the human budgets? Rich societies should not find it so impossible to provide resources for their unvaccinated children or for their homeless people or for their decaying cities in an era of such rapidly falling military spending.

*Mahbub ul Haq is special adviser to the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, and principal author of the annual* Human Development Report. *He is a former minister of finance and planning of Pakistan.*

Richard Mock

In the poor nations, unfortunately, the decline in military spending is still slow and hesitant. In fact, spending on arms is still increasing in two of the poorest regions of the world, sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Obviously, the poverty of their people is no barrier to the affluence of their armies. Even a freeze on current military spending levels in the developing world would release sufficient resources to take care of their essential human agendas.

Third, we need to construct a new framework of development cooperation free from the scars of the cold war and free of the North-South confrontations of the past.

We need to get away from a framework of aid where priorities are so distorted that today, twice as much aid per capita is given to high military spenders among the developing world as to more moderate military spenders; only one-fourth of the world's aid goes to three-fourths of the world's poor; less than 7 per cent of bilateral aid is earmarked for the human priority concerns of basic education, primary health care, rural water supply, nutrition programmes, and family planning services; and 95 per cent of technical assistance funds are spent on foreign experts in the name of national capacity building in the developing world.

**Less than 7 per cent of bilateral aid goes to human priorities such as education, primary health care, and family planning services.**

It is imperative to use existing aid funds much more efficiently if we are ever to build a case for more aid in the reluctant legislatures of the rich nations.

It is time to earmark aid not for strategic allies, but for enhancing global human security. It is time to link aid to global objectives of sustainable human development, poverty eradication, population control, and environmental improvement—so that aid funds are reflected in the enriched lives of the people, and can be globally monitored and defended on that basis.

Fourth, we need a new role for the United Nations. A United States Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr noted in 1945, after the conference in San Francisco at which the UN was established: "The battle of peace has to be fough

on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace....No provisions that can be written into the [UN] Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and in their jobs."

For the past 50 years, the UN has been largely concerned with keeping the peace between nations. It is time for it to accommodate the growing concern for human security. This means that the UN's developmental role will have to be strengthened greatly. The UN cannot fight tomorrow's battles with yesterday's weapons: soldiers in blue berets are no substitute for badly-needed socio-economic reforms.

The growing imbalance between short-term emergency assistance and long-term development assistance must be set right. While the UN spent less than US$4 billion on peacekeeping missions during its first 48 years, it is likely to spend more than US$4 billion on such missions in 1993 alone. And to deliver every dollar of humanitarian assistance, it now costs about ten dollars on soldiers. It is time we reviewed this strange imbalance. And it is time we recognized that if funding for socio-economic development is diminished, then there are likely to be many more emergencies in the future.

***If development funding is diminished, then there are likely to be many more emergencies.***

What is more, the new imperatives of human security demand a new Economic Security Council in the UN. Periodic summits, however successful, are no substitute for a regular forum for global economic decision-making at the highest level.

These are the new compulsions of human security: the shrivelled faces of innocent children, the anguished existence of the homeless, the pain and despair of those without a hope. They are real, and they demand change.

Richard Mock

### Practical Development

*Appropriate Technology* is a quarterly journal dedicated to "practical approaches to development," according to the publishers. Recent and upcoming coverage includes pastoralism, biodiversity, women's innovations, animal health care, renewable energy, and transport and rural planning. Regular features include a resource guide, answers to technical questions, and news on the work of the Intermediate Technology Development Group. For more information, including subscription rates, contact: Subscriptions Manager, Intermediate Technology Publications, Ltd., 103-105 Southampton Row, London WC1B 4HH, UK. Telephone: 44-71-436-9761. Fax: 44-71-436-2013. Other periodicals available from IT Publications include: *Waterlines*, which is devoted to low-cost water and sanitation; *Small Enterprise Development*, a magazine for the designers and administrators of small enterprise development programmes; and *Boiling Point*, which is concerned with the improvement and promotion of cooking stoves.

### Indonesian Tours

BKKBN, Indonesia's National Family Planning Co-ordinating Board, is organizing a number of study tours for 1994. They include: "Community Participation in a National Family Planning Programme: The Indonesian Experience" (12 January-1 February), "Planning and Managing a Community-Based National Family Planning Programme - A Course for Policy Makers" (4-17 May), "Information, Education, and Communications in a National Family Planning Programme" (20 July-8 August), "Women in Family Planning and Development" (5-18 October), and "Planning and Managing a Community-Based National Family Planning Programme" (30 November-13 December). For more information, including tuition rates, contact: Programme Co-ordinator, International Training Programme, BKKBN, P.O. Box 1186, Jakarta 10011, Indonesia. Telephone: 62-21-809-8018, ext. 254, 256; 62-21-800-9093. Fax: 62-21-819-4532; 62-21-809-7387.

### NGOs to the Rescue?

Grassroots organizations have become a significant global force and an increasingly powerful political force in developing countries, according to Julie Fisher, author of *The Road From Rio: Sustainable Development and the Nongovernmental Movement in the Third World*. These non-governmental organizations (NGOs) meet compelling needs not met by governments. Groups form, motivated by grinding poverty, environmental ruin, or outrageous exploitation, says Fisher, scholar in residence at Yale University's Programme on Non-Profit Organizations. She sets out to provide an account of a number of such movements and to explore the significance of the NGOs to the overall process of development. Available as a paperback priced at US$19.95, or hardcover priced at US$55.00, from: Praeger Publishers, 88 Post Road West, Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881, USA. Credit card orders, telephone: (800) 225-5800.

### City Sprawl

*World Urbanization Prospects: The 1992 Revision* contains the latest United Nations estimates of population size and growth for the world's cities. According to the report, Tokyo is the largest city in the world, with an estimated population of 25.8 million. The fastest growth in the numbers and size of cities is taking place in the developing world. By the year 2005, half of all people in the world are expected to live in cities. For more information, contact: Director, Population Division, United Nations Secretariat, Rm. DC2-1950, New York, NY 10017, USA.

### Population Today

*Population Today* is a monthly newsletter published by the Population Reference Bureau, a US-based private non-profit educational and advocacy group. Recent issues have looked at race and ethnicity in the United States, falling life expectancy in the former Soviet Union, and falling fertility in China. For more information, contact: Circulation Department, Population Reference Bureau, P.O. Box 96152, Washington, D.C. 20090-6152, USA. Telephone: (800) 877-9881. PRB also publishes teaching kits for schoolteachers, wall charts, and a quarterly, *Population Bulletin*.

### Children for Health

*Children for Health* is "designed for those who work with children and who believe that children, in schools and as family members, need to be considered as partners in spreading health messages as well as benefiting from them," according to the book's foreword. Its publication, by the Child-to-Child Trust, was supported by the UN Children's Fund, UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, and UNFPA. It includes all the messages contained in the latest edition of *Facts for Life*, a publication

supported by the same four UN agencies. Chapters cover such issues as child growth, hygiene, immunization, malaria, AIDS, safe motherhood, and food for the family. *Children for Health* is intended for wide use; it is available at a subsidized price of US$ 2.00 and is copyright-free. Available from: TALC, P.O. Box 49, St. Albans, Herts. AL1 4AX, UK. For more information, contact: Child-to-Child Trust, Institute of Education, 20 Bedford Way, London WC1H 0AL, UK.

### Old is BOLD

*BOLD* is a quarterly magazine published by the International Institute on Aging (INIA). It covers aging in the North and South, and strives to give readers a global perspective on such topics as "The Demography of Aging", "Elderly and Aging Women", and "Physical Therapy in the Care of the Elderly." Subscriptions are available, priced at US$35 per year for individuals and US$50 per year for organizations, from: BOLD-Subscriptions, c/o INIA, 117 St. Paul Street, Valletta VLT07, Malta. Fax: (356) 230-248. Attention: BOLD-Subscriptions.

### Peruvian Journal

The *Revista Peruana de Poblacion* is a journal on Peruvian and international population and related issues. It appears twice a year in Spanish, with abstracts of articles in English. Individual copies, priced at US$12.00 and annual subscriptions, priced at US$20.00 are available from: AMIDEP, Av. Salaverry 2461, Lima 27, Perú. Telephone/Fax: (51-14) 22-29-50. The publishers are also seeking to exchange information with demographers and social scientists in other parts of the world.

### Evaluating Programmes

The World Health Organization and France's *Ecole nationale de la santé publique*, or national school of public health, have collaborated to produce a guide to evaluating family planning programmes. *Evaluation des programmes de planification familiale*, edited by Denis Coué, Alain Jourdan, Philippe Lecorps, and Daniel Pierotti, is available in French only and is intended primarily for European family planning programmes. For more information, contact: World Health Organization, Regional Office for Europe, Scherfigsvej 8, DK-2100 Copenhagen, Denmark.

### Population-Environment Fellowships

The University of Michigan offers two-year population-environment fellowships sponsored by the US Agency for International Development (USAID). Fellows are placed in government ministries or national non-governmental organizations in developing countries. Candidates must have a Masters degree from an affiliated university in a relevant area, and must have course work or experience that demonstrates population and environment expertise. Applications are subject to the approval of the host agency, the USAID office in the host country, and USAID's Washington, D.C. headquarters. The fellowship programme is also interested in hearing from potential host agencies looking for fellows. Requests are subject to review by a programme selection committee and approval by USAID. For more information, contact: The Population-Environment Fellows Program, SPH II, Room M2240, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2029, USA. Telephone: (313) 747-0222. Fax: (313) 747-4947.

### Management Courses

Management Sciences for Health, a private training institution, is offering the following courses at its Boston, USA headquarters in 1994: "Programme Management: The Latest Skills and Technology for Effective Leadership" (9 May-3 June, English; 19 September-14 October, French), "Executive Course in Health Financing and Sustainability" (13 June-1 July), and "Planning and Directing Management Information Systems" (11 July-29 July). MSH is also offering regional courses in Africa ("Promoting Rational Drug Use", "Financing Options and Cost Control", "Managing Decentralized Health Systems"), Asia ("Facing the Global Challenges of Urban Health", "Managing Successful Training Programmes"), and Latin America ("Managing Decentralized Health Systems"). For more information, including tuition costs, contact: Management Training, Management Sciences for Health, 165 Allandale Road, Boston, MA 02130-3457, USA. Telephone: (617) 527-9202. Fax: (617) 965-2208.

### Conference Newsletter

*ICPD 94* is the official newsletter of the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development. Published every two months in English, French, and Spanish, it sets out to update readers on preparations for the decennial conference scheduled for September 1994 in Cairo, Egypt. For more information, contact: ICPD 94, ICPD Secretariat, c/o UNFPA, 220 East 42nd Street, 22nd floor, New York, NY 10017, USA. Telephone: (212) 297-5244/5245/5222/5230. Fax: (212) 297-4915. Telex: 7607883.

## The World's 15 Largest Cities

| City | Country | Population (millions, 1992) |
|---|---|---|
| Tokyo | Japan | 25.8 |
| Sao Paulo | Brazil | 19.2 |
| New York | USA | 16.2 |
| Mexico City | Mexico | 15.3 |
| Shanghai | China | 14.1 |
| Bombay | India | 13.3 |
| Los Angeles | USA | 11.9 |
| Buenos Aires | Argentina | 11.8 |
| Seoul | South Korea | 11.5 |
| Beijing | China | 11.4 |
| Rio de Janeiro | Brazil | 11.3 |
| Calcutta | India | 11.1 |
| Osaka | Japan | 10.5 |
| Jakarta | Indonesia | 10.0 |
| Tianjin | China | 9.8 |

**Source**: United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 1992 Revision*, 1993.

### Most Urban

All the residents of Bermuda, the Cayman Islands, Gibraltar, the Holy See, Monaco, and Singapore are urban dwellers. Among countries with populations of at least two million people, the most urbanized are Belgium (where 96 per cent of the population live in urban areas), Israel (92 per cent), and Venezuela (90 per cent).

### Growth Rates

Cities in the developing world are generally growing faster than cities in the industrialized world. At a growth rate of 3.5 per cent per year, a city would take about 20 years to double in size. In 1985-90, Brasilia, Brazil grew at an annual rate of 7.8 per cent. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and Peshawar, Pakistan, posted rates of 5.5 per cent and 7.8 per cent, respectively. By contrast, cities in the industrialized world show growth rates of 1 per cent per year or less. Rapid urban growth is spurred by influxes of international refugees and migrants from the countryside.

### Urban Sprawl

By 2005, half of all people will live in urban areas. Fewer than one in three Africans and Asians live in urban areas, compared to seven in 10 Europeans, Latin Americans, and North Americans. In Africa and Asia, urbanization is expected to reach 50 per cent by 2020, and 54 per cent by 2025, by which time 85 per cent of all Europeans, Latin Americans, and North Americans will live in urban areas. Some 321 million people will have been added to the world's cities between 1990 and 1995.

**DICTIONARY**

**Urban and Urbanization**

Countries differ in the way they classify a population as **urban** or rural. Typically, a community or settlement with a population of 2,000 or more is considered urban. A listing of country definitions is published annually in the United Nations *Demographic Yearbook*.

**Urbanization** is the growth in the proportion of a population living in urban areas.

(**Source**: Population Reference Bureau, *Population Handbook*, 3rd International Edition, 1991.)

UN/Claudio Edinger

**Source:** United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 1992 Revision*, 1993.

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